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Closing Lecture
Psychological Warfare Seminar
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By Raymond B. Allen

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THE TOTAL PROBLEM

What is the Problem?

The problem is how to fight a war in a period of "no war and yet no peace" but a mixture of war and peace. The problem was created by the Bolsheviki when they continued to foment world revolution while at the same time they entered a collective security system, the United Nations, which outlawed international war. They believe in a "one world" concept alright but they have made it crystal clear that the world must be organized according to their blueprint. It would be a peaceful world but the "peace" would be that of complete tyranny; a world in which very few Americans would find much happiness to pursue, many would certainly have their lives taken away, and there would be little or no liberty as Americans understand the word. Therefore, we have decided that this is too high a price to pay - our fundamental national principles by which we live - the right to Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness - for a peaceful world.

Americans feel that these principles of our Declaration of Independence are for export. We are the prudent trustee of them for all mankind. You will remember that the American Declaration of Independence said that these rights are unalienable for all men - and that to secure these rights governments are instituted among Men. Governments, according to the American idea, must be responsive and responsible to the people who are the sovereign temporal will. This concept grew out of the centuries of bloody struggle men have waged to be secure as individuals and at the same time free men. But the idea that government is sovereign has many lives. In its modern form it is called the "dictatorship of the proletariat" and this is described as merely the "anteroom for ushering in socialism" to bring about the "withering away" of the coercive apparatus of the state. This is the Red form of tyranny. It takes a slightly different form in Fascism and Nazism but it is still the same old tyranny with different colors, Black and Brown. These colors are no more acceptable to men who have the wit to see that they were born to be free than the Red or diabolical tyranny.

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It took two world wars and a great depression to convince the people of this country that America is not an island that could be isolated from the raging storms arising elsewhere and that to secure freedom for Americans in a fast changing and revolutionary world - they had to support freedom everywhere. In short, we have finally learned that freedom is indivisible and that if America is to remain free and healthy, it can only do so in a healthy world. Like freedom, the health of men the world over is indivisible; this is as true economically and politically as it is true physically and mentally.

We hoped, of course, that the Red tyranny would accommodate itself to the collective security principle embodied in the charter of the United Nations. But we soon learned that the accommodating would have to be by one side - our side - if the system was to bring security. But as I have suggested, this kind of Red security was the security of the grave, a kind of security that has never appealed to red-blooded Americans.

Personally, I am glad that we made this effort to "live and let live" with the Bolsheviks. We are a people who want to believe the best of others. If we had not made the effort to do this we would not be in the position of moral strength we stand on today in fighting for our principles and our very lives.

Our disillusionment has been gradual. It began, the historians will perhaps say, in Christmas Week of 1944 when communist guerrilla forces attacked British forces, their allies, in Athens.* This, they

* The Sixth Comintern, held in 1928, outlined the policies, tactics and slogans for the use of communism in its plan for seizure of world power. A particular chapter dealt with "colonial and semi-colonial areas," primarily with Asia. This carefully documented section outlined the steps by which imperialistic colonialism would be destroyed and culminate in "annexation to the Soviet Union" of the area under colonial power. It was a declaration of intent for continuous war against the non-communist world. A committee of 18 for action included Stalin, Molotov, Manvilsky and other leaders of the present USSR.

Because of relative world stability at that time the timing of this Soviet aggrandizement was left to events. A pact with the Germans in 1939-40 (Nazi-Soviet Relations) afforded a first step in enlargement of the USSR in the Baltic and Balkans, but this came to an end in June 1941. But France and Great Britain were so weakened by World War II that the USSR decided the next move would be in the Near East. By

- 2 -

SECRET

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(Continuation of footnote)

Fall of 1944, the outcome of World War II was inevitable - Germany would be defeated. So the Soviet put into motion the first steps for wresting the Near East from the weary western allies. These moves were three in number.

1) A demand in September 1944 by the USSR that Iran give concessions in an area of 214,000 square miles of northern Iran bordering the USSR, including all minerals, communications and development projects. Such a concession given with Red troops in occupation would have meant an advance of the Soviet Union 200 miles southward. This concession excuse failed, so in the spring of 1945, the Soviet Union arranged for the establishment of two "autonomous peoples democratic governments in Azerbaijan" which would have destroyed Iran's viability, paralysed any resistance, and made of Iran a Soviet satellite. This too failed in 1946.

2) In Greece, the communists had organized a militant revolutionary force prior to World War II which organized a coalition anti-German underground in 1941-44 with a political facade party known as EAM. While including many liberal elements, its direction was communist. In late 1944 British and Greek forces re-entered Greece and re-established the Monarchy. An agreement (the Caeserta agreement) was made between the EAM, the UK and the Greek government, that as rapidly as the Greek government forces occupied any liberated areas, EAM would disarm and disband its military forces. In December 1944, the British discovered large numbers of Greek guerrillas converging on Athens and discovered large caches of hidden arms. When the British forces ordered a stop of this armed movement, EAM seized parts of Athens and the Greek so-called "civil war" began. It was really a USSR war against the non-communist west and lasted until 1949 when U. S. aid finally enabled the Greek government to drive the communist guerrillas across the borders.

3) In 1945, the Soviet Union began by direct foreign office pressure and through the Soviet press to demand the cessation of two provinces of Turkey to the Soviet Union plus the right to modify the Montreaux Convention. The USSR demanded the right to establish naval, military and air bases in Turkey on the Dardanelles.

Looking at these concerted moves in Iran, Greece and Turkey in 1944-45, it is evident that the Soviet Committee of Action (1928) had decided the year 1944-45 was the propitious time to start its annexation of the Near East in its global plan toward eventual world conquest.

(By Edwin M. Wright, State Department, GTI)

- 3 -

SECRET

SECRET

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may say, is the date of the beginning of a new kind of war which it is the purpose of this paper to examine.

The ideological declaration of war against western civilization occurred when the Bolsheviks seized power in Russia on October 17, 1918.* The organizational declaration of war occurred in 1928 at the Sixth Comintern. (See footnote by Mr. Wright).

The war is called a "cold war" but you of the Navy know that this is a misnomer for surely it has gotten awfully "hot" in Korea and off its shores and in its skies, just as your fellow fighters of the Marines, the Army, and Air Force have learned the same thing. Some have called it an "International Civil War" which is descriptive of many of its characteristics. Actually, of course, the wars thus far in the Twentieth Century are World Revolutionary Wars and they are, perhaps, phases of but one war. These great climactic wars may some day be called "The World Revolutionary Wars of Interdependence." Whatever its name should be, we can all agree that this is the war to end wars, for whatever happens this will be its outcome, however long or violent the struggle. We are living in an apocalyptic period of "no peace and no war." This is a paradox arising out of the confused and contradictory relations between sovereign states, some of which refuse to behave according to the rules of civilized international relations which they helped to write.

This is where the issue is joined. It is a moral issue involving the noblest principles men have evolved to guide their conduct as men and as societies. It is deeply rooted in the history of man from earliest times of record when men learned that to survive as individuals they had to organize collectively as a tribe and later as a nation to gather strength for the hunt to provide food and for security from the bandit, be he a robber baron or the head of another tribe or state. History is a story of the bloody struggle for individual security and liberty in an increasingly interdependent world. Ours is the challenge of living at a time when this issue is joined by protagonists commanding and contending for resources of material and manpower of proportions beyond calculation. This war, whatever its name, dramatizes the same age-old issue but its resolution can destroy civilization or it can usher in, not socialism and "pie-in-the sky by and by," to paraphrase Marx, but the opportunity and challenge for men everywhere to be independent and free under forms of government of their own devising, governments which recognize the interdependence, the brotherhood of all mankind. Whether you and I live long enough to see this result or not, I cannot say, but our faces are firmly set along the right road.

* This culminated a 70-year program initiated by Karl Marx and Frederick Engels in their Communist Manifesto of 1840.

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Two things we should never forget in the years ahead. First, that we are right - ~~let~~ there be no least doubt about that. Second, that the great majority of the peoples whom the Bolsheviki have enslaved are with us. Nor should we ever forget their suffering. They suffer the tragedy of all mankind when liberty is lost.

Their souls, as well as our own, are at stake in this historic, epic struggle. If we and men of good will and like mind everywhere have sufficient humbleness of spirit, sufficient moral fibre, steadiness of nerve, resolution and management skills to deal with the play of forces sweeping mankind and recognize our kinship with men everywhere, all will yet be well.

This is our problem, perhaps the greatest in scope any people have faced in history. How are we doing in fighting this new kind of undeclared war which the Bolsheviki have thrust upon the free world? I should say that we are bringing the enemy's offensive in some parts of the world to a halt. His fifth column in this country has taken a severe licking. His propaganda and subversion is recognized for what it is. But perpetual vigilance is the price of liberty.

In Europe, beginning with his defeat in Greece and Berlin, he is not doing well but he never gives up. The security systems of the Free World are gathering strength but some of the links in the coalition which NATO represents would probably not withstand much additional pressure.

In the Far East we took a disastrous defeat when China fell to the Reds. But when the enemy let his confidence in his own strength and our weakness get the better of his judgment and invaded South Korea, the Free World decided it was time to use force to stop him. He has been stopped and pushed back to where he started and there he is being held and hurt.

In Southeast Asia the Free World is holding its own and beginning to build greater strength though it is touch and go in Indo-China.

In South Asia our friends are becoming alert to the common peril.

In the Middle East there is an acute revolutionary situation which will be critical for some time. The Bolsheviki must consider, however, that a naked act of aggression will be met with force. This is the lesson of Korea which they will not soon forget. Their techniques of internal subversion, however, are in full play in Iran and elsewhere.

- 5 -

SECRET

25X1

SECRET

25X1

In Africa the agents of Soviet imperialism are hard at their divisive work but the Free World is at its work also of consolidating its strength.

In Latin America the enemy took a real licking in Panama in the last elections, and elsewhere among our South and Central American neighbors there is increasing awareness of their peril if they fail to build strength in their own countries as parts of the Free World.

Recently ANZUS was formed in the South Pacific as the latest collective security system to build together the strength this important region should have.

And we should remember also the lesson of the Philippines, our heroic partner in World War II, now an independent nation, which knows how to fight and win against subversion and social and economic weakness.

Asiatic nations are pondering the contrast between our treatment of the Philippines, giving her independence, and of Japan - so recently our mortal enemy - with the Soviet system which enslaves any state she can entice or subvert into her orbit.

Considering the fact that we were the only large industrial power in the Free World that had not been devastated by World War II and that we almost completely dismantled our military power when the shooting ended and the further fact that we almost alone had the means and the goods to initiate the rehabilitation and reconstruction of the war torn countries of Europe and Asia while the Bolsheviks did not weaken their military machine, I suggest that the last five years is a remarkable record of achievement of which every American has reason to be proud. To paraphrase a Churchillian phrase of an epic period when the British alone defended the ramparts of the west - never in history have so few done so much for so many in so short a time. The conception of post-war mutual aid and security, like that of war-time lend lease, was not the conception of an imperialistic, real estate hungry, power mad nation. No, when the judgment of the history of the first half of the Twentieth Century is in, the Bolsheviks like the Fascists before them will be convicted of monstrous crimes against the very basis of civilization.

THE FUTURE

But what of the second half of the century? That depends upon us.

The first rule of war is to know your own strength and how to

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use it and the strength of the enemy and how he is using and likely to use it.

The first rule of strategic planning in any kind of war including the present unconventional one is to so dispose and use your strength and striking power as to reduce and ultimately destroy the enemy's will and capacity to fight.

The period now coming to a close has been a defensive one during which we have been tooling up on every front of the war, carrying on research and development and testing which will continue indefinitely in every field, including, for the psychological front, the social sciences; stock piling of material, techniques, industrial capacity, trained manpower in reserve, like yourselves; perfecting coalition alliances in collective security systems; fighting holding actions in Berlin, the Middle East, Korea and elsewhere; and finally, offering our protective shield to those who are too weak to contribute much strength and who need and want time and help to adapt themselves to present day requirements of a people's sovereignty. Time presses heavily and will not wait for those governments which fail to meet their responsibilities. Farouk of Egypt discovered this just the other day.

You have had a full review of the organization of the governmental departments which carry the main responsibility for psychological operations. During the past year many organizational changes have been made which reflect growing awareness of the importance of these operations. I am glad to report that these improvements are bringing results. There is better and faster coordination in planning and executing departmental policies and programs.

THE PSYCHOLOGICAL STRATEGY BOARD

The Psychological Strategy Board was established by directive of the President on April 4, 1951 and its first Director, Mr. Gordon Gray, the distinguished President of this fine University and an experienced and wise governmental official, began work on July 1. He organized the office, largely completed its staffing and established its operational policies by January 1 when he had to return to the University. I had the honor of succeeding him as Director on January 1 of this year.

The responsibilities of the Board are three: (1) to develop strategic psychological plans for the guidance of departmental psychological operations; (2) to see to it that psychological operations are adequately coordinated under strategic guidance and (3) to evaluate

- 7 -

SECRET

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the effect or impact of the national psychological effort.

The Board consists of the Under Secretary of State, the Deputy Secretary of Defense and the Director of Central Intelligence. The Board members become, when wearing their departmental hats, the principal executive agents to see to it that the plans they have approved as a Board are actually carried out. In short, just as combined operations is an accepted doctrine of military planning, psychological strategy is combined operations under strategic plans approved by the Departments of State, Defense and Central Intelligence Agency. The present method of dealing with these problems is a response to a recognized need and we are currently developing the working habits and procedures to bring these great departments together to fight this war to win. The crux of our problem is the stress and strain between the divisions of power and responsibility that are deeply rooted in our government and our way of life. We have not insisted on clear-cut definitions of what is psychological strategy. After the growth period is over, definitions will be possible. Meanwhile, psychological strategy is anything the Board approves as a plan or guidance for the operating departments. It is always, however, a method for integrating government efforts from a certain point of view. Perhaps a few examples of the work of the Board will help to give you a better picture of this ingenious interdepartmental agency. Remember that while it reports its activities to the National Security Council and to the President, it has power of decision on psychological strategic plans. Its actions occur in the frame of national policy as laid down by the NSC. It makes no national policy though the Director is represented by an adviser to the senior staff of the NSC.

Among the first tasks which the PSB undertook at the request of the President was the development of a planned guidance to delineate the responsibilities by departments in time of declared war for the conduct of psychological operations. This has been completed and approved by the Board and the President. Obviously, such a plan is necessary in order for operational planning to be carried out intelligently.

A psychological strategy plan for the future role of Germany is before the Board for adoption this week.

Other plans for Japan, Southeast Asia and the Middle East are in various stages of completion. This is forward planning which is not concerned, for example, with the current crisis in Iran, Egypt or Tunisia. We follow events in these places closely, particularly as new policy evolves that will effect guidance of future psychological operations. The policy determines, by and large, the propaganda output of IIA and other agencies.

- 8 -

SECRET

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On the other hand PSB planning may get close to operations as in the case of what should be done if the Panmunjom talks were terminated. This might be a good example to detail the planning process.

What prompted the plan?

Requested by the then Assistant Secretary of State Rusk as part of a fifteen-point program for courses of action in Korea developed in July 1951.

Procedure

(a) A panel composed of members having special knowledge from Department of State, (Policy Planning Staff, Office of Chinese Affairs, and Public Affairs Area); Army, Navy, Air Force and CIA. Three of these persons placed on 90-day temporary duty. The others participated in daily meetings as a part-time duty.

(b) Office of Plans and Policy prepared terms of reference and assisted the panel by guidance on the planning task, by administrative aid and by obtaining basic data.

(c) Panel members, based on individual backgrounds and knowledge of departmental thinking, developed integrated plans. After panel members have completed, plans reviewed by the Office of Plans and Policy and then by the Director and Staff.

(d) Presented with the Director's suggested changes to PSB alternates.

(e) The Board members then examined the plans in conjunction with comments of the Director and the alternates and took approval action.

(f) Plan transmitted for implementation to Secretary of State, Secretary of Defense and Director of Central Intelligence.

(g) Operational planning based upon these strategic plans developed within departments.

(h) Interdepartmental aspects coordinated with the assistance of the Office of Coordination, PSB.

(i) Field execution, based upon transmittal of operational plans to responsible officials in the field.

The coordinating phase of the PSB cycle consists in following

- 9 -

SECRET

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through on PSB approved plans to see that the operational plans of the departments and agencies who must carry them out are accomplished in time and consistent with the PSB plan. In addition, all departments and agencies, private as well as public, are encouraged to contribute their maximum effort to the particular project. Thus, in the light of existing policies, PSB attempts to draw together the national effort in support of our objectives.

Here are specific examples of this coordination effort as applied to some of the plans I have just enumerated:

a. Psychological Operations Plan for Soviet Orbit Escapees.

This is a plan to determine the best means of existing policy to employ, resettle and care for current escapees from the Soviet orbit or its control. The coordination effort determined the dimensions of the problem as involving 18,000 persons, the private and public efforts for caring for them and recommended a Department of State coordinating effort to cost \$7,200,000 to achieve integrating all such activities.

b. Survey of Overt Information Facilities, Responsibilities and Programs.

A fact-finding survey is currently under way in order to prepare an accurate factual picture of all the "voices of America" currently in operation.

c. Relationship to Point IV Program.

An effort is currently being made to determine the role of the PSB and its staff in the furthering of the general aims and objectives of the Point IV concept.

Most difficult of all is the function of evaluation. Currently our approach is to secure the departmental evaluations of their own programs and evaluate them in our own shop. If additional information is needed, we ask the appropriate questions. If we don't get the answers we explore all possible means including, with Board approval, an on-the-spot evaluation by consultant experts. To get as much information as possible, we interview government officials and civilian experts recently returned from areas in which we are interested. Obviously, this function will require much originality and research, and, in time, as strategic plans for all of the areas of concern to our national interest are in operation, the evaluation of their impact will become a dominant function of PSB. Out of this may then come tremendous leverage in government policy formulation and programs in the event that an evaluation shows that the operations are not having the desired effect and impact.

- 10 -

SECRET

25X1

KEY WORDS - BELIEF, ADMINISTRATION, COMMUNICATION

I should like to close by reminding you that there are three words that are key words in understanding this total problem and doing something about it. These are belief, administration, and communication.

By belief I mean dedicated faith in the rightness of our cause and of our principles of the Declaration of Independence and of the Constitution. All of us must constantly demonstrate that these are not idle concepts but they are, in fact, the living, breathing spirit of our lives which, in order to preserve, we continuously recreate each day in everything we do. In so much as we fail in this we fail mankind. I pause merely to note that Communists also have faith in their beliefs and their cause and have a highly disciplined organization for action. They are, fortunately for our side, a small minority of people even in the Soviet Orbit itself.

By administration I mean the processes by which management in government, as in industry, and the professions creates the conditions in which each person can contribute to successful enterprise according to his ability without coercion and fear under an equitable system of incentives and rewards. In this country, at least, it is the process by which an organization, be it a factory, a school, or an army, keeps itself organized to do its job. Its result is the new dynamic in America which is astounding the world and ourselves with its productivity. The great twentieth century discovery is that we have finally learned how men can work together in a highly complex technical society with satisfaction to themselves and benefit to all. Now we are trying to share this discovery with the rest of the world.

It is, I suggest, this feeling of togetherness and the fact that everybody belongs to an organized effort of some sort that has called forth the great twentieth century renaissance of American creativity. The future historian will marvel at this explosion of energy that we see all about us today. I suspect that as he analyzes the first fifty years of this epic century, noting the wars and the great depression, he will find deeper meanings in these great struggles than we may see today. His chief concern, I think will be to identify the ways and means men used to organize themselves to deal in an orderly intelligent way with the energies they set free. For if the struggles of this century are resolved so that freedom survives, it will be because the voluntary system of cooperation -- of partnership of free men and institutions -- characteristic of America proves stronger and more resilient than totalitarian statism. He will look for the values and ideals that undergird our national effort and give us unity of purpose and goals; and these he will find

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in our literature and fine arts, our Declaration of Independence and our Constitution, our other great state papers and our laws, our criticisms, and our preachings all as parts of our national spiritual and material heritage of freedom.

As the historian turns his microscope on the great struggle of our day he will surely contrast what we have been doing with the closed monolithic system which the Bolsheviks perfected to organize the peoples they could reach. There he would find a system which succeeded only through absolute obedience to central authority. It maintained its power through tension, coercion, and fear. It feared and therefore prohibited any voluntary association and cooperation among the people. The administrative process was not one of democratic participation in policy making, planning and action. All planning and action was centrally controlled. The historian will be forced to conclude that the values of their society were not human values but were coldly material ones; that the individual was only important as he obediently served the state and the people who ran it; that the individual had no value for himself alone; that the men who governed were predatory creatures.

What will he write about the second half of this century of revolutionary destiny? That depends upon us for we know already what he will write if the plans of the Bolsheviks succeed. He will write what he is told to write and nothing more. The renaissance of the human spirit in the west will be called the dark age of reaction -- a counter-revolution against the proletariat of communism, if indeed, it will be treated as charitably as this. We will be blamed for the use of biological and chemical weapons of mass destruction in justification of their inhuman aggressions. (The mounting "Hate America and Americans Campaign" of the Bolsheviks today suggests that this dark page of history is not too far away if their plans are not thwarted). It is late, but not too late if we recognize our peril and are willing to continue to make the necessary sacrifices to preserve our freedom of choice and decision.

Fortunately the people we can still reach are beginning to understand their peril and are slowly coming to see that the American idea is not a threat but brings them a shield of strength. For it is the ancient message of brotherhood and partnership of men and institutions -- a message that appeals to men's better natures. It asks them to be men, to respect themselves and others. It humbly urges them to build that government for themselves that best serves their needs and is responsive to their will -- that, just as we have found the way to religious tolerance so may they worship God as they choose. This is the message, but by our acts we will be judged.

Our foreign affairs effort seems to be finishing its adolescent period and one can begin to notice that Americans here and overseas

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are becoming less strident in their behavior in word and deed. We have learned that there is much for Americans to learn from ancient cultures of countries which are under developed and weak from our industrial point of view. We now see that propaganda for the values and anti-communistic programs of the free world come best from native indigenous sources which are not suspect of foreign self-seeking motives. Is it not strange that we should have sometimes behaved in such juvenile ways toward humble peoples in foreign lands when such behavior is so alien to the native American character? Perhaps, as I have suggested, it was due to our adolescence as a nation in foreign relations.

Achieving maturity abroad as at home we are becoming confident of our strength and the rightness of our cause and we can see our enemy's vulnerability. For make no mistake, it is in his administrative control apparatus and his inhuman value system that lie the seeds of his destruction. Let us cultivate those seeds where they lie and not permit their transplantation to our beautiful garden. They are weeds that will eventually strangle the life out of the fearful monster the Bolsheviki have spawned. This will require patience, steady nerves, and iron resolution. I am confident these qualities, even patience among normally impatient Americans, can be summoned forth in abundance once the free world really understands what the row is all about.

This brings me, finally, to the last key word, communication.

The twentieth century world lives and breathes by communication. To communicate is to commune one with another. And the degree to which man's organism is dependent for health upon communication with the world around him is comparable only to his dependence upon the food and shelter which somehow must be provided from his environment. Sociologists, anthropologists, psychologists and even those biologists who realize that biology is also a social science, increasingly stress and study the arts and science of communication as integral parts of an understanding, in the round, of the fast changing world men inhabit together and of man himself. This growing awareness has been stimulated by the dramatic speed-up in world wide communications among peoples and governments. This is one band only, albeit an important one, in the broad spectrum of many colors which characterizes the global struggle. One line in the spectrum is the electro-magnetic war which the Bolsheviki have forced upon us. Belatedly, we are recognizing this facet of the struggle as one of its most deadly salients.

But the biological aspects of communication are of much deeper significance. How, in fact, do two or more minds communicate? Surprisingly, though we know much about the body's sensory apparatus and motor response mechanisms what we know about the functioning of

- 13 -

SECRET

Approved For Release 2006/03/17 : CIA-RDP80R01731R003400020045-8

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the brain itself is appallingly little. And why should we know very much when there are probably only about 150 men in the world today doing frontier research on this fascinating problem. Remember that there are, it is estimated, about 15 billion nerve cells in the brain of every human being.* Multiply this by a factor of 2 billion, three hundred thousand, the approximate number of people on earth today, and you come out with the figure of 35×10^{18} , which represents the variability base of the human receptors of what you want to communicate. Remember also that each individual human being is different from all others when he started life on this troubled planet and that thereafter he has been subject to a multiplicity of different stimuli and the conditioning thereby. No wonder that the problems of men's adjustment to one another and to the physical resource environment are complicated and difficult.

Now the Bolsheviki have made shrewd use of what little is known of the biology of communication. They have aggressively and to a purpose narrowed the range of information reaching their captives behind their slick sided prison walls. (These walls, as you know, are partly electro-magnetic walls -- other parts are barbed wire and guns). Thus they hope to evolve robots who respond as one man to the word from the Kremlin. Outside their prison walls they pursue different tactics, having a flexible strategy. They use, besides their own ideological dialectic, the words of the west (e.g., their peace offensive) as their bullets aimed at the brains of their targets to nourish confusion, doubt, suspicion, fear, and incite hate, greed, venom and thereby appeal to the lowest instincts of man.

Since we want no controlled propaganda in the west our problem is a difficult one particularly in view of the fact most of the people of the east we try to reach are illiterate and suffering masses who have no firm basis for intelligent criticism of what they hear. But such people can be convinced by what they see and feel. Many of our programs (TCA, for instance) take this biological fact into account, of course.

I hope I have convinced you with these much too many words that belief, administration, and communication are keys to victory for our camp. I hope I have convinced you, too, that our government is doing

* Doubt and Certainty in Science, A Biologist's Reflections on the Brain. J. Z. Young, Professor of Anatomy at University College, London; the B.B.C. Reith Lectures of 1950. Oxford at the Clarendon Press 1951, pg. 37, line 21. This is a brilliant series of essays with added comment which is an exercise in skillful communication that could change the course of history.

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its best to adapt itself to the conditions imposed upon us by a ruthless enemy who wants to make us all walk from Minsk to Pinsk. But he isn't going to get away with it - not if enough free men of our camp deeply believe, as I do, that we are right and that we have the resources, human and material, and the imagination to mobilize and use them effectively to "reduce and ultimately destroy the enemy's will to fight."

May God speed that day.

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- 15 -

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